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Neither Marx Nor Gandhi Nor Hunger Holds Them Back

Everywhere, from Berlin to the Formosa strait, storm clouds hang over mankind. Algeria provides fresh daily reminders of the savagery which lies just beneath the skin of the ostensibly civilized. It is not in the details of these tense and sanguinary quarrels that their peaceful resolution is to be found. It is only in self-knowledge that the race of man can find safety. For this purpose we invite attention to the conflict between India and China over Ladakh, as a healing reductio ad absurdum of what ails us all. The are in dispute between these two giant Asian powers is the closest to a lunar landscape to be found on our planet; this bit of territory between the Karakorum and the Himalayas is desolate, uncultivatable, uninhabited and uninhabitable. The frontier has never really been demarcated and it is so inaccessible that some three years passed before India became aware that China had built a road across one corner of Ladakh between Chinese Turkestan and Tibet, over territory which India claims as hers. How many camels a year will pass over this road we do not know but it will be a long time before traffic lights are required. The road is, in a sense, strategic but only in the sense that brass hats like to draw lines on maps. For this line some Peking General is ready to sacrifice all the promise of Bandung, all the talk of Indians and Chinese being brothers. For easier access to the far side of Tibet, they would shut China's last open door to the outside world. Peking's folly completes the isolation U.S. policy has imposed upon it.

The Mahatma's Heirs Speak Pentagon's Language

Two overpopulated Asian countries, striving to pull themselves out of centuries-old exploitation and misery, desperately short of capital, one of them haunted by terrible droughts and crop failures, near to famine, are ready to divert precious materials and men to war over this dismal bit of land. Under the banner of Marx, which promised an end of poverty and war, Mao Tse-tung leads the Chinese people for the first time in their history toward an armed conflict with India. Under the banner of Gandhi, a modern Jesus, preacher of non-violence, his successor Nehru, the Socialist and the idealist, is as ready for war as any professional soldier. His right hand man, Krishna Menon, tells the UN (this time over Kashmir), in accents indistinguishable from the Pentagon's, "We are not pacifists." Millions of Indians who haven't the slightest conception of where Ladakh is are ready to march in patriotic zeal for its recovery; indeed Nehru dare not be moderate about Ladakh, any more than about Goa or Kashmir, lest his opposition attack him for weakness, cowardice, appeasement. And this chauvinistic opposition, be it noted, includes not only the rightist Hindu party but the Indian Socialists. Even the Indian Communists are split by the quarrel with China.* Here we see neither Marxism nor Gandhi-ism nor hunger inhibits nation states and their leaders from moving toward war in quarrels about as rational as any schoolboy's.

Were China or India armed with nuclear weapons, we may be sure that they would threaten their use in this conflict, and resort to them in last resort rather than face defeat. Not many years hence they *will* have them. The Chinese and the Indians will be as ready to incinerate mankind over Ladakh, perhaps much readier, than Russians and Americans over West Berlin. The independent nuclear deterrent which we fear in the hands of de Gaulle will soon be in a dozen others. Ladakh shows us that the danger does not lie primarily in the stupendous firepower but in the stupidity of mankind, and in a lawless world where any nation can decree death for others whenever it so wishes. It is this at which we must look long and hard if we are to save the species, not who is right or wrong in Ladakh or Quemoy or Berlin. These are only the occasions and not the causes of our peril.

Stale Slogans Out of The 20's

A country cannot solve its problems unless its leaders are willing to talk sense. The Eisenhower speech to the Republican House and Senate Campaign Committees was full of nonsense the country cannot afford. The devaluation of the Canadian dollar, on top of the continued fall in the stock market, warns that serious difficulties lie ahead. As in 1929, the bursting of the speculative bubble in the U.S. is a blow to the weaker economies of the raw material producing countries and threatens a chain reaction of economic hardship and political unrest. At such a time the leader of the opposition in this country comes forward with a rehash of stale 1920 slogans in answer to the President's attempt at Yale to open up some sensible discussion. Mr. Eisenhower has about as much qualification for leadership as Ulysses S. Grant, and it shows in this speech. He speaks freely in that extensive area from fiscal to farm policy where he has never displayed comprehension, while in the one sphere of his competence, the defense and related space programs, he drops a few sensible warnings but is afraid to speak up strongly since these permit such lush profits for the favored few that they are firmly supported by both parties. There is a limit to how much economic waste and political idiocy even a country as rich as ours can take, and we are getting closer to that limit.

*** Here our rightists do not seem to realize that if Nehru buys the Migs offered him by Russia for use against China this will be the biggest affront Moscow could give Peking and would split the Communist bloc wide open.**

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Basic American Principles Too Little Understood in This Generation

Supreme Court Will Be Accused of Barring Prayer and Allowing Smut

I am not frightened often or easily, but frankly the last day of this term of the Supreme Court has me frightened. The ruling in the New York public school prayer case will give the paranoid and crypto-Fascist elements in our society fresh ammunition against the Court. I shudder to think what they will do with the coincidence of the prayer ruling with that in the Manual Enterprise case, which reversed a Post Office order barring a homosexual nude picture magazine from the mails. The Court will be accused of barring prayer and allowing smut.

In principle I agree with the noble words of Mr. Justice Black in the prayer case; the First Amendment *should* allow *no breach in the separation of Church and State, though* I recall that 15 years ago Mr. Justice Black ruled in the Everson decision that New Jersey tax funds could provide bus services to parochial as well as public schools while it was Mr. Justice Rutledge in dissent who argued the absolutist point of view put forward now by Mr. Justice Black.

Hardly An Urgent Concern

Basically the case seems to me much ado about nothing. The nonsectarian prayer, from which any student who wishes may be excused, is no different from those used in both Houses of Congress and on State occasions. I regard religion as superstition, but I believe the public schools on the whole have handled it with admirable freedom from sectarian bias or offense, and the crusade against school prayers seems to me to show little political sense, and to rank very far down on the list of urgent concerns at this moment. I am sorry to see the Court burdened with it at a time when its resources of public respect and submission are strained to the utmost by the heroic and historic task it has assumed to bring about racial equality.

The Court and its Judges are the closest repository that our society has to absolute power; only the difficult process of Constitutional amendment can overrule them if they do not eventually overrule themselves, as happened in the New Deal period. Life tenure and tradition enable them to do what no elected official would dare, as in the prayer case. All kinds of heavy tasks, like that of desegregation, are theirs to bear with little help from Congress or the Executive. This situation has grave dangers, for the crust of law and order is relatively thin in every society and recent history has shown us the bloody abyss beneath it.

The greatest threat to law and order, and to the Court, which embodies it, is the gap between the universe of values in which the Judgest operate and the understanding of the ordinary American. The Bill of Rights, the philosophy it embodies, the experience from which it is distilled, have perilously little meaning for this generation of Americans. One of those Foundations, choked with funds but looking only for respectable causes, could do worse than finance a campaign in the schools and out to teach America's fading traditions.

How few will see the connection between the school prayer case and the long struggle for religious liberty in which the Pilgrims and the very foundation of our country were a part. How few will understand in the homosexual magazine case the importance of setting up safeguards against censorship and of not permitting a publication to be suppressed by administrative action without its day in court.

I cannot resist the wry reflection, however, that while conservative Judges like Harlan can see the First Amendment issue in the homosexual magazine case, and both Harlan and Clark joined in the school prayer case, they so often forget these principles when the far more important matter of free political activity is before them. Some Judges are almost as frightened as the common man when they hear the word "Communist."

For Mercy to the Drug Addict

"In 15th Century England one prescription for insanity was to beat the subject 'until he had regained his reason.' Deutsch, The Mentally Ill in America. . . . Today . . . while afflicted people may be confined either for treatment or for the protection of society, they are not branded as criminals. Yet . . . that approach continues as regards drug addicts. Drug addiction is more prevalent in this country than in any other nation of the Western world. . . .

"Great Britain, beginning in 1920 placed addiction and the treatment of addicts squarely and exclusively into the hands of the medical profession. . . . Under British law 'addicts are patients, not criminals.' Addicts have not disappeared in England but they have decreased in number and there is now little 'addict-crime' there. . . . The Council on Mental Health reports that criminal sentences for addicts interfere 'with the possible treatment and rehabilitation of addicts and should be abolished.' . . . We would forget the teaching of the Eighth Amendment [against 'cruel and unusual punishments'] if we allowed sickness to be made a crime."

—Douglas concurring in Calif. Drug Case June 25.

Court Falters and Orders Reargument in Basic Un-American Contempt Appeal

The precarious liberal majority and the timidity of the Court in dealing with a fundamental problem in political liberty were demonstrated in its disposal last Monday of the three remaining cases on its calendar involving contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In two cases, those of Louis Hartman and Bernard Silber, which could be disposed of on minor technical issues, the four liberals, Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan, won Mr. Justice Stewart to their side and the convictions were reversed. Clark and Harlan dissented. Frankfurter and White did not take part. The reversal was based on flaws in the indictment, and this brought the total of contempt reversal this term on similar grounds to nine.

But in confronting the case of Edward Yellin, which will have to be decided on more basic grounds, a majority opinion could not be achieved and the case was set down for reargument next term. This will allow the new Justice, White, to take part.

Mr. Yellin pleaded the First Amendment in the Gary, Indiana, hearings of House Un-American in 1958, and his appeal goes to the heart of the Committee's authority. He was sentenced to a year in jail and a $250 fine; an additional punishment, typical of the witch hunt, was the revoking by the National Science Foundation of a $3800 graduate fellowship it had awarded him. The revocation was a surrender to pressures from the Committee and its friends.

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Why We Can Spend $50 Billion A Year on War and Have Joblessness in Detroit

Pentagon Report Shows Heavy Industry Already Hit By "Disarmament"

Those interested in the problems of peace should carefully examine a report newly released by the Office of the Secretary of Defense called "The Changing Pattern of Defense Procurement." It discloses a dramatic change in armament orders. This change is hopeful, when regarded from the viewpoint of weaning U.S. industry away from dependence on an arms economy. In a sense, it no longer is.

The key to the report lies in one sentence from the foreward by Roswell L. Gilpatric, deputy secretary of defense. "We have moved swiftly," Mr. Gilpatric writes, "away from mass production into research, development *and small quantity production* as the normal character of modern weapon system procurement." The italics are ours.

Armament No Longer Mass Produced

Armament is no longer a heavy industry, mass production business. The days when armorplate for naval vessels was a large part of the steel business have long passed away. So have the days when Detroit was the nation's arsenal.

In World War II more than 26% of military hard goods procurement was for ships; in fiscal 1961, this percentage had fallen to less than 8%. This explains why you can have depression, unemployment and stagnation in the steel industry when you are spending $50 billions a year on the U.S. war machine.

The figures tell the same story for Detroit. "Tanks, other vehicles, weapons and ammunition, plus production, construction, and other commercial types of equipment and hardware," the report says, "constituted 50% of the military hardware goods delivered in fiscal year 1953, the last year of the Korean conflict. By fiscal year 1961, these were only 12.4% of the total of prime contract awards. In eight years, they fell from one-half to one-eighth of the hard goods buy."

This shift has hit the great industrial complex around the Great Lakes hard. "Michigan, for example," the report says, "obtained 10.5% of military prime contracts in World War II and 9.5% during Korea; yet had only 2.7% of the smaller FY 1961 contract total. The States of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin combined, had 21.9% of the total in World War II, 17.8% during Korea, and only 9.1% in FY 1961."

Cleveland and Gary and Milwaukee do not need to be persuaded to prepare for the possibility of disarmament. They are already in the painful process. These five industrial States around the Great Lakes have to adjust to a drop in arms orders from $8.7 billion a year during Korea to $2.6 billion in 1961, and "the loss of $6.1 billion per year in defense contracts means hundreds of thousands of jobs. It is not surprising that many communities in these five States have encountered recurrent employment problems."

"Peace" is already descending on the assembly line. As the report says, "Revolutionary changes in weaponry have been reflected, naturally enough, in manufacturing processes. Production lines were a large part of the FY 1953 hard goods buy; but by FY 1961 these had dwindled, comparatively. Instead the more recent emphasis has been upon research and development, and upon fewer, far more costly, weapon units. Traditional metal fabricating processes are giving way to more intricate and sophisticated techniques. In consequence, blue collar workers are fewer, while scientists, engineers, and technicians multiply in establishments seeking defense procurement needs."

Missiles, specialized aircraft and electronics now take the major place in procurement. And in these sectors an ever larger share of the dollar goes for research, development, testing and engineering rather than for production. The RDT&E share ranges from 57.9% in missiles through 24.9% in electronics to 20.3% in ships and 10.1% in aircraft.

Armament more and more is becoming the province of specialized industries and specialized intellectuals outside the main stream of American business. Mass production industry must reconvert from war work. The intellectuals have a growing interest in the war machine. That is the other, darker side, of this picture. An ever larger share of the arms dollar is going to the universities and the "Rand Corporations" of the Eastern seaboard and the Pacific Coast.

Disarming A Problem Even In Laos

"While the Laotians generally are an exceptionally peaceful people who have been content to eke out a living from their jungle rice paddies, worship at the Buddhist shrines and joyfully celebrate most any occasion, the competing Russians and Americans have given them a taste for some of the trappings of a more advanced economy. Although the Laotian troops, left to themselves, rarely have shown any desire for battle, they are showing signs of enjoying the material benefits of being a soldier—clothing, food and money—that come without too much work. This may yet prove the greatest impediment to dissolving the Laotian armies and getting an economy moving again."

—Earl Voss from Vientiane in Wash. Star June 25.

U.S. Air Force Chief Discloses How German Luftwaffe Was Secretly Revived

Wiesbaden, Germany, June 21—Details of undercover work that led to the creation of the modern German air force were disclosed today after ceremonies marking the assignment of the first ultra-modern jet fighter planes to the Luftwaffe. The fighters, swift F-104-Cs, will eventually replace older and slower jets.

Allied officers now generally agree that the German air force is one of the most powerful elements in NATO, but according to Gen. Truman H. Landon, commander of the U.S. air forces in Europe, the situation very nearly turned out differently. Not long after the 1948 Berlin crisis, he disclosed, certain Western officials concluded that West Germany should be trained and equipped militarily to stand with the West against the Communist threat. Consequently, he said, a number of former officers in the World War II Luftwaffe were hired as civilians at various Allied facilities.

Some of them were brought up to date in jet flying techniques by training in T-33 jet trainers, Gen. Landon said. This activity was performed secretly because some West European officials, still wary of German military might, might have objected. Even now the subject is of sufficient delicacy that Landon declined to identify any of the Luftwaffe officials involved.

—Los Angeles Times dispatch in Wash. Post June 22.

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Better Than A Poor Compromise Would Be A Fresh Chance in the Next Congress

It Looks As If There Will Be No Drug Bill This Session

By Marvin Caplan

There is little chance of Congress passing any new drug legislation this year. The Kefauver drug bill, with its promise of cheaper and better drugs, has been so badly butchered by Congressional opposition, drug industry lobbying and Administration spinelessness, the most sensible thing is to let it die and try again next term.

What will not die, however, is speculation over the Administration's responsibility for the destruction of the bill. At one point it had the President's support. In April, he sent a letter to Sen. Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is considering the measure, and strongly endorsed it. Two HEW attorneys worked several days with Kefauver's Antitrust subcommittee staff in an attempt to adapt the bill more fully to the President's recommendations for new drug legislation.

To The Drug Industry's Measure

But when it became clear that Kefauver could not command committee support for his bill, the two attorneys, without Kefauver's knowledge, met and worked out a compromise with representatives of Eastland and of Senators Dirksen and Hruska, the two major opponents of the measure. Industry attorneys probably had a hand in the revision, too. There are striking resemblances between some of the changes and recommendations put forth by the head of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association when he testified on the bill last year.

And now the contradictions and questions begin to mount. What was HEW's role in all this? In the stormy floor debate in which he attacked the secret meeting on his bill Kefauver said he had called HEW and no top official there seemed to know anything about their attorneys' participation.

Eastland replied that a high HEW official, whom he refused to name, had told him the agency favored at least one major amendment, one Kefauver said would give FDA ineffectual control over drug plants.

The two HEW attorneys seemed satisfied with the changes. Discussing them with the press one said impulsively, "we're going to have a good bill." He later backtracked a bit.

On the Eve of JFK's Visit to Mexico

"Q. Does it bother you at all to have a Soviet satellite so near, in Cuba?

"A. Mexico is not concerned at having as neighbors countries with political systems different from its own, because the Mexican government always bases its conduct unreservedly upon the principles of non-intervention. This gives us the right to expect similar treatment from others."

—Interview with President Adolfo Lopez Mateos in U.S. News & World Report, July 2.

But he seemed to speak without authority. At least HEW Secretary Ribicoff suggested that. He testified recently before the House Commerce Committee on two Administration measures designed to tighten present laws on drugs, food additives and cosmetics. Asked about the changes in the Kefauver bill, he told the committee "they differ substantially enough (from the President's proposals) to make us quite unhappy about it." As for the attorneys, he said to reporters later that they were minor officials who did not represent the Administration and gave only technical assistance to the Eastland Committee. It is hard to believe they would attend the compromise meeting without HEW's knowledge.

Where does this leave drug legislation? Precisely nowhere. Still pending in House Judiciary is Rep. Celler's version of the Kefauver drug bill. But either through design or ineptitude one of the Administration bills in House Commerce overlaps it. Assuming the jurisdictional knots can be untangled and the bills combined; assuming that measure could pass the House, it would still have to be referred to a Senate committee. And either Senate Judiciary or Senate Labor and Public Welfare can be expected to knife it. There will be no drug bill this term.

There may not even be a cosmetic bill. The nation's beauty industry is furious about a provision it says, with little justification, will force hair dyes off the market. Will an Administration, increasingly shy about offending business, fight off even this attack?

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